

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME I.

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PAUL SEYMOUR,

EDITOR.

ADDRESS

To the people of West Virginia: showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to the rights and interests of slaveholders; by HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., Lexington, Va.

In further confirmation of our views of the unproductiveness of slave labor, when employed in agriculture, we call your attention, fellow-citizens, to an address delivered to the Agricultural Clubs of Mecklenburg, Va., and Granville, N. C., on the 4th of July last, by James Bruce, Esq.

Mr. Bruce is an intelligent gentleman, and one of the largest slaveholders of Virginia. His opinion of slave labor is therefore entitled to great weight.

We have room for only a few extracts from his address. After an estimate of the value of slave labor on the exhausted soil of Virginia, compared with its value in cultivating sugar and cotton on the exuberantly fertile bottoms of Louisiana, he says: "This calculation makes the average product of slave labor in Virginia a little over twenty-two dollars (a year, for each slave)." Thus we see that the profits of slave labor in Louisiana, are more than four times greater than in Virginia. The inference seems to be very clear, if there be the remotest approach to accuracy in these calculations, that a large portion of our negroes should be sent to the South West. I doubt whether every man who owns more than ten working-slaves, would not be better off by the sale or removal of all beyond that number. But, it may be said, shall we part with so large a portion of our labor, and leave our lands to waste? Certainly if the labor be unproductive, it is folly to keep it. The slave adds nothing to the moral and physical strength of the country, and if his labor be unproductive, of course he is a nuisance, and the sooner we rid ourselves of him the better. His place will soon be supplied with a better population, and in the meantime the poorer lands will be thrown out of cultivation. The poorer lands in cultivation scarcely produce returns beyond the support of the laborers who cultivate them. But, gentlemen, (continues Mr. Bruce) there is another view of this question, which should urge us to immediate removal. All look to the period when the negro must leave Virginia and North Carolina. There is now a demand for the South anxious to receive it. The time is approaching when this demand may cease, and when their doors may be closed against the admission of new slaves. Is it prudent to loose the present opportunity? Is it not better to commence the work at once, and to do now what we may be unable to do, when the emergency becomes more pressing?

"Suppose (says Mr. Bruce again) all this dead capital, now invested in slaves, were to become an active monied capital, how many improvements might be made? Capital would attract labor, labor for our work-shops and our fields. We should soon have a dense population, which would give schools to our children, a market to our farmers, and those railroads which we now clamor for, but which our poverty and a sparse population places far beyond our reach."

Every sentence in these extracts contains an important truth; and especially do the lines that we have marked with *italic letters* deserve the maturest consideration of every citizen of Virginia.

Agriculture, according to Mr. Bruce, cannot flourish among us, because slave labor is unproductive, and keeps down the population—also because it prevents the growth of manufactures, and thereby deprives our farmers of a home market, the most valuable of all—also because it disables the country to construct railroads, and canals, to facilitate trade and travel; and finally, we may add, because it destroys the spirit of industry and enterprise in the white population, and thus prevents them from doing what is yet in their power to do for the improvement of the country.

Thus it comes to pass that lower Virginia, with stores of fertilizing marl on her extensive shores, still goes on to impoverish probably ten times as much land as she fertilizes—that the valley, though full of limestone and fertile soil, is on the whole becoming more exhausted by a too widespread and shallow cultivation;—and that West Virginia, by her more judicious use of one of many particulars—still leaves unoccupied the cheapest and the best sheep-walks in the United States, and confines her husbandry to a few old staple products, while New York and Vermont, in their snowy climate, gain millions of dollars annually by sheep-busbandry.

In 1840, Vermont had 160 sheep to the square mile, and New York, in her Northern districts, nearly as many, whilst Virginia had only 20 to the square mile—few of them fine-woolled sheep, and these few chiefly on her Northern border, near free Pennsylvania.

No doubt sheep could be kept among our mountains, at one third of what they cost in those cold Northern countries, where they must be stabled and fed during the five snowy months.

Suppose that the mountains of Virginia were as well stocked with improved breeds of sheep as those North countries; they would now be pastured by six millions of those useful animals, whose yearly product of wool and lambs would be worth seven or eight millions of dollars; and the keeping of them would furnish profitable occupation for 12,000 families of free citizens. Then how changed would be the scene! Our desolate mountains enlivened with flocks; and ten thousand now silent hogs

and della, vocal with the songs of Liberty. "The Mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty!" Why is it not so in our mountains? They who keep slaves cannot keep sheep. The occupation requires care; but what do slaves care! Poor wretches! what should make them care?

A few significant facts will conclude this sketch of our slave-system of agriculture. The towns and cities of lower Virginia are supplied with a great part of their hay, butter, potatoes, and other vegetables, not from the farms of Virginia, but from those of the free States. And even our great pastoral valley imports cheese in large quantities from the North.

Next we shall notice briefly

The Influence of Slavery on Manufactures.

It matters not to our argument, whether a high tariff or a low tariff be thought best for the country. Whatever aid the tariff may give to manufactures, it gives the same in all parts of the United States. Under the protective tariffs formerly enacted, manufactures have grown rapidly in the free States; but no tariff has been able to push a slaveholding State into this important line of industry. Under the present revenue tariff, manufactures still grow in the North, and the old South, as might be expected, exhibits no movement, except the customary one of emigration. We hear indeed, once in a while, a loud report in Southern newspapers, that "The South is waking up," because some new cotton mill, or other manufacturing establishment, has been erected in a slave State; a sure sign that in the slave States an event of this sort is extraordinary. In the free States it is so ordinary, as to excite little attention.

Even the common mechanical trades do not flourish in a slave State. Some mechanical operations must, indeed, be performed in every civilized country; but the general rule in the South is, to import from abroad every fabricated thing that can be carried in ships, such as household furniture, boots, boards, laths, carts, ploughs, axes and axe-helves, besides innumerable other things, which free communities are accustomed to make for themselves. What is most wonderful, is, that the forests and iron-mines of the South, supply, in great part, the materials out of which these things are made. The Northern freemen come with their ships, carry home the timber and pig-iron, work them up, supply their own wants with a part, and then sell the rest at a good profit in the Southern markets. Now, although mechanics, by setting up their shops in the South, could save all these freights and profits; yet so it is, that Northern mechanics will not settle in the South, and the Southern mechanics are undersold by their Northern competitors.

Now connect with these wonderful facts another fact, and the mystery is solved. The number of mechanics in different parts of the South, is in the inverse ratio of the number of slaves. or in other words, where the slaves form the largest proportion of the inhabitants, there the mechanics and manufacturers form the least. In those parts only where the slaves are comparatively few, are many mechanics and artificers to be found; but even in these parts they do not flourish, as the same useful class of men flourish in the free States. Even in our Valley of Virginia, remote from the sea, many of our mechanics can hardly stand against Northern competition. This can be attributed only to slavery, which paralyzes our energies, disperses our population, and keeps us few and poor, in spite of the bountiful gifts of nature, with which a benign Providence has endowed our country.

Of all the States in this Union, not one has on the whole such various and abundant resources for manufacturing, as our own Virginia, both East and West. Only think of her vast forests of timber, her mountains of iron, her regions of stone coal, her valleys of limestone and marble, her fountains of salt, her immense sheep-walks for wool, her vicinity to the cotton fields, her innumerable waterfalls, her bays, harbors and rivers for circulating products on every side; in short every material and every convenience necessary for manufacturing industry.

Above all, think of Richmond, nature's chosen site for the greatest manufacturing city in America—her beds of coal and iron, just at hand—her incomparable water-power—her tide water navigation, conducting sea vessels from the foot of her falls—and above them her fine canal to the mountains, through which lie the shortest routes from the Eastern tidals to the great rivers of the West and the South West. Think also that this Richmond in old Virginia, "the mother of States," has enjoyed these unparalleled advantages ever since the United States became a nation—and then think again, that this same Richmond, the metropolis of all Virginia, has fewer manufactures than a third rate New England town—fewer than the obscure place called Lowell, which is beyond all comparison—but better than the obscure place called Fall River, among the barren hills of Massachusetts—and then, fellow-citizens, what will you think, what must you think, of the cause of this strange phenomenon? Or, to enlarge the scope of the question: What must you think has caused Virginians in general to neglect their superlative advantages for manufacturing industry—to disregard the evident suggestions of nature, pointing out to them this fruitful source of population, wealth and comfort?

Say not that this state of things is chargeable to the apathy of Virginians. That is nothing to the purpose, for it does not go to the bottom of the subject. What causes the apathy? That is the question. Some imagine that they give a good reason when (leaving out the apathy) they say, that Virginians are devoted exclusively to agriculture. But why should they be, when their agriculture is failing them, and they are flying by tens of thousands from their worn out fields to distant countries? Necessity, commerce and manufactures. What is the reason of that? If a genial climate and a once-fertile soil wedded them to agriculture, they should have wedded them also to their native land. Yet, when agriculture fails them at home, rather than let mines, and coal beds, and waterfalls, and timber-forests, and the finest tide rivers and harbors in America, allure them to manufactures and commerce, they will take their negroes and emigrate a thousand miles. This remarkable fact, that they will quit their country rather than their ruinous system of agriculture, proves that their institution of slavery disqualifies them to pursue any occupation,

except their same ruinous system of agriculture. We admit that some few individuals should be excepted from this conclusion: but these few being excepted, we have given you the conclusion of the whole matter; and as Lorenzo Dow used to say—"You cannot deny it."

But many Virginians, from the rarity of manufactures among them, are apt to conceive so largely of those that they see or hear of in our State, that they can hardly be persuaded of the exceeding deficiency of Virginia in this branch of industry. Therefore, in order to establish the truth of all that we have said on this subject, we shall give you from the census of 1840, a comparative view of the manufactures of some of the Free States, and of Maryland and Virginia. We go no farther South in our comparison, but remark what is well known to be true, that the farther South, and larger the proportion of slaves, the fewer are the manufactures of the country.

We begin with New York, which, although an agricultural operation according to the political economists, is however commonly classed with manufactures. In the returns of the census for Virginia, there is an evident blunder; one furnace in Brunswick county being reported to have made 5000 tons of cast metal. We have reduced this to 500 tons, which cannot be below the truth. With this exception, the returns for Virginia are probably correct. Those for some of the Northern States are certainly defective—but we take them as they are.

We put together the three New England States of Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut, which are in size and resources for iron-making, equal to about one-third of Virginia. New York is inferior to Virginia in iron mines, and Pennsylvania about equal. New Jersey and Maryland are not half so richly furnished with ore-beds as our State.

Putting cast iron and bar iron together for brevity's sake, we find by the census that the three New England States made about 33,000 tons a year; New York 82,000 tons; New Jersey 18,000 tons; Maryland 19,000 tons; Pennsylvania 186,000 tons; Virginia 20,000 tons; and young Ohio, with less than half the resources of Virginia, 43,000 tons. The two Carolinas together made 4,000 tons. If we value the cast iron at thirty dollars a ton, and the bar iron at fifty dollars, exclusive of the value of the pig metal used in making it, then Pennsylvania, the only State that has resources for iron-making equal to those of Virginia, made iron to the value of about 7,400,000 dollars a year, and Virginia, to the value of 720,000 dollars—less than one-tenth.

Next, in order to save room, we put together the values of the manufactures of Cotton, Wool, Leather, and articles manufactured out of iron and steel, such as Cutlery, Hardware, &c. We also put together the three New England States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, which are in size equal to about one-fifth of Virginia, and in natural resources for manufactures, to about one-tenth.

The total value of these four manufactures was—in the three New England States, fifty millions of dollars; in New York, twenty-one millions; in little New Jersey, six millions; in Pennsylvania, sixteen millions; in Maryland, three and a half millions; and in Virginia, two and three-fourth millions. So even half-slaveholding Maryland, a comparatively small State, beats Virginia in these manufactures; and as to the wholly free States, why, you see how the comparison stands.

To give a clearer idea of the comparative value of these manufactures, we divide the total value in the several States by their population; and thus find how much it makes on the average for each individual. In the three New England States, the average is forty-five dollars a head; in New York, nine dollars; in New Jersey, six; in Pennsylvania, nine; in Maryland, seven and a half; and in Virginia, two and a fourth.

If we had taken into the calculation all the various kinds of manufacture, the result of the comparison would not be materially different. We may say, therefore, that the old Free States have, in general, about seven or eight times as large a proportion of manufactures, as our old State of Virginia has, notwithstanding her superior resources for that branch of industry.

The last census gave also the cost of constructing new buildings in each State, exclusive of the value of the materials. The amount of this is a good test of the increase of wealth in a country. To compare different States in this particular, we must divide the total cost of building by the number of inhabitants, and see what the average will be for each inhabitant. We find that in Massachusetts, \$3.60 cents; in Connecticut, \$2.40 cents; in New York, \$2.70 cents; in Pennsylvania, \$3.10 cents; in Maryland, 2.30 cents; and in Virginia, \$1.10 cents.

The census enables us also to find what proportion there is between the number of persons employed in agriculture, and the number employed in mechanical trades and manufactures. By calculation we find, that for every 100 persons employed in agriculture, there are employed in manufactures and trades, the following numbers, viz: in Massachusetts, 95; in Connecticut, 49; in New York, 38; in New Jersey, 48; in Pennsylvania, 51; in Maryland, 20; and in Virginia, 17.

All these successive comparisons, that we have made between the principal old free States and Virginia, coincide in their general results; and thus prove each other to be approximately correct—sufficiently so to answer the purpose of our present argument. The reader must have observed also, how uniformly half-slaveholding Maryland serves as an intermediate stepping-stone, as we descend from the high level of Northern prosperity, to the low ground of Virginia depression.

Surely we need say no more to satisfy every one of you, fellow-citizens, that trades and manufactures do not flourish in Virginia; that they are, indeed, in a very low state; though nature has done everything that nature can do, to make them easy and profitable for our people.

Political Movement.

The National Intelligencer, responding to those who go for all Mexico, says:

It is proposed, then, to declare a forfeiture of all private Mexican property in the soil of that country, and to give effect to that forfeiture as fast and as far as our citizens (and who are they? all Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceania, if it likes them,) shall present themselves there to take possession. What, then, must be the process? As in a mill: "first come, first served;" and our entire soldiery, with the camp-followers, being upon the spot, will help themselves foremost, and of course to the best. The officers, each according to his grade, will take estates, from that of a vicery down to a marquis; the mere rank and file will help themselves out of the best of what is left, the ignoble but still rich landed estates of the *hidalgos* and *caballeros*; and, of course, (the right of property being the same,) each ousted Mexican will, with his immovables, hand over to him who thrusts him out all personal property; money, plate, coaches, clothes, live-stock, &c. The work will of course naturally—for each man will want to come into his estate at once—begin in the cities of which we now have the possession, and palaces, banking-houses, the stores of the wealthy merchants, &c., will be parcelled out, together with inevitably, the ecclesiastical wealth, which is large and not a whit less forfeited than every thing else.

We need not further define the method: each man's imagination can pursue it for himself. It will be not as when William the Norman won England for the plunder of his armed adventurers and billeted them forever upon the castles and baronies of the ejected Anglo-Saxons, ("land-stealers" no more,) but our more civilized William will call over all Normandy and all Europe at his heels, and as they flock in, turn every inhabitant, who has a roof or goods, out of house and home, and make of Mexico one universal land of worse than slaves—lepers, beggars.

A project of robbery so ruthless and gigantic the amazed world hath not heard, since Attila, Alaric, and Genseric, those scourges of the world, broke through their barbarian multitudes upon the cultivated parts of Europe and turned them into a desolation. It is true that the detestable proposal must be rejected, with a wide public indignation: but what then? Its very suggestion—not to speak of the countenance given it by our Government through its organs—is a shame to our country, because a mark of the estimate set on its morals and humanity by those whom it has been permitting to lead and govern it.

But we pass, with a shudder, to the milder yet still bloody remainder of the scheme: so much, we mean, as regards the method—now admitted to be the only one—by which we can, after all, subdue Mexico. All the millions, all the lives thus far expended, the ravages yet committed, the national reproach incurred, and now admitted, and even by the President's organ tacitly confessed, to have been fruitless. We are stained with the blood of a weak sister nation; we are up to our waist in bootless debt; and all this has gained us nothing but a position from which we are plunged over head and ears in bootless expense and permanent bloodshed!

Gentlemen now coolly inform us, on the part of the Administration, that we shall, to finish the President's war for him, have to spread all over Mexico a perpetual war (under-estimated) of fifty-four thousand men. We say "perpetual," because they themselves have planned in every breath of that nation a hate of us which whole centuries may only deepen and will not eradicate: while every measure now intimated can only serve to infuriate it to an exterminating resistance. We must, according even to these advisers, hold the country, with superior armies, until the national hate shall weary of this abhorring us, although meanwhile refreshed by contributions to pay our forces, and the plunder of their ledged property to reward their destroyers!

An average of less than half the troops now confessed indispensable has, during the year and a half of open war, cost us over a hundred millions of dollars; so that a permanent expense of something like a hundred millions a year will be necessary to this plan. And this Mexico is to furnish contributions, and at the point of the sword! Mexico, who has not been able, for years to pay her own beggarly army! Mexico, whose native Government cannot rake together money enough to subvert her defenders! Mexico, whose forty-four millions of European debt we shall be bound to pay the moment we assume her sovereignty!

But, at least, she is to be made to feed the armed masters set over her. Yet, with a food of stones! For, first of all, men never plant more than provisions enough for themselves where their harvests may be reaped by the sword of an enemy. Rely upon it, they will not plant their corn in our camps and forts; we shall have to forage and fight for every sack of it; and it will have to be paid for in blood, whenever it is not paid for in money. Moreover, cultivation is always suspended in countries overrun by invaders; the inhabitants take to flight or try to live on the enemy who comes to live on them. We shall still, then, have to draw our supplies from home, and only a much greater distance, over natural impediments less surmountable.

And how, in a country of such wide extent, abounding in military obstacles, are communications to be kept up between all these small corps in cities, each corps a hundred miles from another, and only sufficient to keep in awe the inhabitants living within the range of their cannon? For our part, we should judge a hundred thousand men the least force with which it is at all safe to undertake to hold a hostile country so large as Mexico.

Such as it is, however, we present the plan and its recommendations to the attention of the country. It is for the Representatives of the People, now soon to assemble in this city, to determine whether the stupendous crime—for we can deem it no less—mediated by the War and Congress party, shall be allowed to be consummated.

How much and how earnestly we have heretofore deprecated unnecessary war, because of its inevitable political evils, we need not remind our readers. Amongst those evils, far more to be dreaded than

even the wanton waste of life and treasure, are its tendency to foster and feed the spirit of conquest; to deepen the innate sentiment of humanity in the public heart; to substitute a ruthless barbarity and spirit of rapine for the true chivalry and high sense of national honor which soar far above such plans of sordid ambition and remorseless cruelty as we now find every day unblushingly inculcated.

For our part, we cannot but regard these fomenters of war, these counsellors of national injustice and grave dishonor, as dangerous to the public welfare precisely in proportion to their ability to do mischief. Happily for the present generation, and most fortunately for the hope of the friends of freedom which rests upon the duration and success of our experiment of government, that ability is counteracted by the sound unshaken moral sense of the majority of this People. It is to their verdict, at the late National Elections, and to that alone, we firmly believe that we shall owe our escape, for the present at least, from that rock on which the great Republic of antiquity successfully foundered.

As for those who are preaching a yet more sanguinary crusade in Mexico, with the intention of the ultimate extinction of the Mexican name and race, we can think of nothing more applicable to them than the rebuke which EMERSON BURKE, in his Speech against the American War, delivered to his constituents, the Electors of Bristol, addressed to a class of politicians of his day:

"I may (said Mr. Burke) be unable to lend a helping hand to those who direct the State; but I should be ashamed to make myself one of a noisy multitude to hollow and threaten them into doubtful and dangerous courses. A conscientious man would be cautious how he dealt in blood. He would feel some apprehension at being called to a tremendous account for engaging in so deep a play, without any sort of knowledge of the game. It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion. The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under Heaven (which, in the depths of its wisdom, tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly odious and disgusting, than an impotent helpless creature, without civil wisdom or military skill, without a consciousness of any other qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight, contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise," &c. "If you and I find our talents not of the great and ruling kind, our conduct at least conformable to our faculties. No man's life pays the forfeit of our rashness. No desolate widow sweeps tears of blood over our ignorance. Scrupulous and sober in well-grounded distrust of ourselves, we would keep in the port of peace and security; and perhaps, in recommending to others some thing of the same diffidence, we should show ourselves more charitable to their welfare than injurious to their abilities."

SKETCH OF A SERMON, DELIVERED IN THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF CINCINNATI, ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21, BY JAMES H. PERKINS.

[The following is a very brief and imperfect sketch of Mr. Perkins' Sermon, reported entirely from memory. We could not, without too timely a rebuke, as it is, to pass, suffer our endeavor to extend its circulation.]—*Cin. Herald.*

Private character, no matter how vicious, is not properly a subject of public exposure and censure. The sanctity of private life, ought not to be invaded either by the pulpit or the press; otherwise, great evils must result—envy, malice, strife, ill will, and bloodshed. This is the general rule. But there are exceptions. One of these is where the individual repudiates all privacy himself—where he makes his vice public and prominent. This is the case, where he has brought himself under the notice of the judicial tribunals. So also, where his position as a public man, makes his crime prominent. Where he occupies public official station, his private fault becomes a public wrong.

Such is the case, which has lately occurred in this State—I mean the case of Judge Read. No one who has a just appreciation of the true and proper relation of the sexes; no one, who estimates the real value of the marriage tie, can fail to be shocked at the outrages of which it is said this individual has been guilty. I know nothing of their truth personally, I rely merely on the newspaper reports. If they prove false, all my strictures of course will fall to the ground. But in view of their truth, every citizen of Ohio is disgraced—and not only disgraced, but insulted. Is it not a wonderful phenomenon, that in this age, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio—the highest official under our State Constitution—could be guilty of such crimes? But it is not my intention to denounce the act. This I trust all of you have already done in your own hearts. It is important to us all, to understand the causes, which have produced such a phenomenon—which have made it possible. The honor and interests of every citizen of the State and friend of morality, are interested in the inquiry.

1. The first way in which I account for it, by instancing the baneful but too common practice of bestowing high offices of great trust, as a reward for active partisan services. In this way political offices are sacred as that of the pulpit, become prostituted. The only recommendation asked, is talents actively employed, to further the interests of party. Such we have too much reason to fear, was the case in the present instance. There may be cases, it is true, where political opinions may be considered as proper tests of fitness for even the judicial station. But it is more important that he who aspires to it, should be known of character, upright, impartial and pure minded.

2. Another reason is the cowardice of the pulpit and the press, in dragging such offenses to the tribunal of public opinion. In this instance, many of the presses have spoken in condemnation, but not as decidedly or so generally as they should have done. Many have been entirely silent while others have used all their influence to cloak and conceal it. The pulpit has been even more to

blame than the press. Its ministers seem to regard all such events beyond their jurisdiction. But of what use is a Christian ministry, if it is to be muzzled? It had better be abolished at once, if it cannot rebuke such public and corrupting examples.

3. Another potent cause of this impunity to public licentiousness, is the criminal indifference, manifested in our private relations. Fathers frequently will introduce into their household, as companions of their daughters, men whom they know to be unprincipled libertines. Brothers will make friendly associates of those, whom they know would not hesitate to rob their sisters of their honor. Mothers and daughters, themselves, receive with favor, the visits of men, whose reputations are black with the breath of a world's scandal. When licentiousness, is thus endorsed as fashionable in private, it else can be expected that it should parade itself in public. And who have a right to condemn in a Judge, what they sanction and countenance in a friend and associate?

4. There is a fatally false belief entertained by some, with regard to the nature and consequences of this vice, which is calculated to beget a toleration for it. It is supposed by some, that its evils reach no further than the body—that it commits no ravage upon the spiritual nature—that it can be shed with this mortal coil, and leave the soul unscathed and untarnished. Such I have reason to believe, is the faith of the individual in this instance.

5. Another item in the explanation of this phenomenon, is a species of modern literature, now become fashionable. It is the fruitful parent of licentiousness. It does not disgust you with its grossness. Its vulgarity is not so shocking as that of Fielding or Smollet, or many parts of Shakespeare. It disdains its poison more insidiously. It is a great error to suppose vice disarmed, because deprived of its grossness. It is in fact becomes more dangerous. It attracts minds that would revolt from vulgar vice. It covers licentiousness with a beautiful but deceptive haze of poetry and sentiment, and the victim breathes its poisoned atmosphere, unconscious of his danger. The healthy and vigorous instincts of virtue are weakened and perverted. The essential distinctions between vice and virtue are lost until the widest departures from right are unobserved.

6. There is a dangerous species of infidelity which naturally assists this result. It is the modern form of infidelity, and is the more dangerous that it attracts the homage of noble and generous natures. Its characteristic consists in teaching that vice and virtue are not essentially different nor opposed—that they are but degrees of the same thing—that vice is nothing but imperfect virtue. Virtuous and charitable minds, furnish its very goodness of their natures, furnish its fatal excuse for the depravities, which they know not how to account for, otherwise. They overlook the fact that sin is enmity to God, and not imperfect virtue. It is something positive and substantial, and is not merely comparative.

These are the causes which have produced the phenomenon, to which I have alluded. It becomes you to consider them. The remedy lies with you, as citizens of the State, as fathers, brothers, mothers and daughters.

THE FOREIGN COMMERCE OF GREAT BRITAIN.—The comparative advantages of home and foreign trade have been frequently, and, we think, needlessly discussed. Both are in reality one thing—a result of the necessities and demands of society; and one cannot be favored in preference to the other, without inflicting a general injury. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the world, foreign trade has been looked upon with jealousy by politicians, as if it was something that did not come into the ordinary stream of events at all. It is as natural, however, as the currents of the ocean, or the course of the storm. Winds, waters, birds, and men, are alike the ministers of nature in carrying her productions from one country to another, and planting new seeds in every soil adapted to their reception; and that nation which refuses the treasures proffered by commerce, or accepts them under invidious restrictions, is not more wise than if it drew a cordon round its coasts to prevent the material agents of the bounty of Heaven from bestowing a new fruit or flower upon the soil. Few countries owe so much as Great Britain to the agency of man in this kind of distribution; or, in other words, few possess less indigenous wealth, with the exception of that of the mineral kingdom. The inhabitants lived on roots, berries, flesh, and milk, till agriculture was introduced upon the coasts by colonies from Belgium, and extended subsequently by the fortunate tyranny of the Romans, who exacted a tribute of corn. At this time our fruits were nearly confined to blackberries, raspberries, sloes, crabapples, wild strawberries, cranberries, and hazel-nuts. In all Europe, according to Humboldt, the vine flourished the Greeks, and wheat the Romans. We had hardly any culinary vegetables of our own; and one of the Queens of Henry VIII. was obliged to send to Flanders on purpose when she wanted a salad. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth that edible roots began to be produced in England. The bean is from Egypt; the cauliflower from Cyprus; the leek from Switzerland; the onion from Spain; spinach and garlic from France; beet from Sicily; lettuce from Turkey; parsley from Sardinia; mustard from Egypt; artichoke from Africa; rhubarb, radish, and endive from China; and the potato from America. Our present fruits, with the exception of the few we have mentioned, are all exotic; and in the animal kingdom, our horses, cattle, sheep, swine, &c., have been so much crossed and re-crossed by foreign breeds, that our ancestors, if permitted to revisit the earth, would hardly recognise the species.

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PARIS.—When the forts around Paris are completed, they will require, in time of peace, an army of 24,900 men, forming, with the garrison of the city proper, an effective force of 60,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with 1,262 cannon, 80 mortars, &c., exclusive of the National Guard, The population of Paris, with the suburbs, is 980,000 foreigners, 25,000 of whom are English.

An ill-natured man's memory is nothing but a row of hooks to hang up grudges on.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE SYNOD OF INDIANA.—The Synod of the Presbytery Church (New School) in Indiana, met in this place week before last, commencing on Thursday and holding its session a week, closing on Wednesday evening of last week. The most important question before the Synod, and one which entered into almost every other, was the all-important subject of slavery.

After a very interesting discussion, which lasted several days, the Synod came to a unanimous decision that slaveholding was a great sin, and ought to be made a disciplinary offense in the church. They resolved to memorialize the next General Assembly to this effect, and appointed delegates to attend each of the Synods of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, to endeavor to secure concert of action in the next General Assembly, in favor of a divorce of the church from this great evil; and to inform the General Assembly explicitly, that measures must be taken to free the church from the sin of slaveholding, or this Synod cannot longer remain in connection and fellowship with the General Assembly.

With regard to the distribution of the Bible, a resolution was unanimously passed, as follows: "Resolved, As God has commanded all men to search the Scriptures, no man or legislature has a right to deny any individual for whom Christ died, the right of reading his word; and we therefore recommend that the American Bible Society give the Bible to the slaves, and the colored population of our country."—*Am. Free Press*, Nov. 16th.

FREE WILL BAPTISTS.—This denomination is rapidly augmenting its numbers, and its influence. The Thirtieth General Conference of the sect was held recently at St. Louis, Missouri. The foreign delegates, Messrs. Burns and Gaddy, were present, and added greatly to the interest of the meeting. The Morning Star reports the names of forty-five Ministers present. It appears that the Conference has a large printing establishment, with surplus funds, which were disposed of as follows:—\$1,200 to the Foreign Mission Society; \$1,000 to Home Mission Society; \$500 to the Education Society; \$500 to Michigan Central College; and \$700 toward paying the expenses of a deputation appointed to visit the English General Baptist Association in June next. The \$10,000 subscription, for the Baltimore fund, was filled up; \$1,200 to \$1,500 were paid or pledged to be paid within a year, to the Foreign Mission cause, \$500 or \$600 to Home Missions, and some \$300 to the Education cause.

SOMETHING FOR PROTESTANTS TO THINK OF.—Here is an example, though coming from the Catholics, not unworthy of being followed by Protestants. A correspondent of the Transcript, writing from East Machias, says that he went to attend the dedication of a Roman Catholic church in that place the other day; and everybody was waiting for the consecration of the dedication, when the officiating priest quietly remarked, "that having learned that the building was unpaid for by the congregation, he could not in conscience dedicate the altar, and he gave from them to God what was not theirs to render. When the church legally belonged to them, he would with pleasure be the medium of presenting it to Heaven."

PROTESTANT ANNIVERSARY.—Last Sabbath, Oct. 31, was an anniversary which is extensively if not universally celebrated by the Protestants of Germany and France. It was the day of the year upon which Martin Luther placed ninety-five theses, or topics for discussion upon the walls of the castle, and offered to debate them with the adherents of the Pope. The German Lutheran church in this city, honored the anniversary by decorating their place of worship with evergreens. The able and learned pastor of that church, the Rev. Dr. Schmidt, preached two discourses appropriate to the occasion; the one, on the necessity of the Reformation, the other, on its divine nature.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.—A special meeting, called for the purpose of electing a Secretary to the Union of Rev. Wm. G. Eliot, of St. Louis, who declined the office, was held on Thursday last week, at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour, in this city.

After much discussion on a great variety of propositions, the members of the Association decided to refer the whole matter back to the Executive Committee, to take such action as they may think best.—*Christian World.*

Three missionaries of the American Board sailed from Boston on Saturday, for the Sandwich Islands—making the number of laborers now under the direction of this Board, as appears from their annual report, just published, upwards of 500. The American Baptist Board of Missions have also recently sent out six new missionaries to various stations in Asia; and are expecting to send out eight more, in the ship *Cato*, the first week in November.

BAPTISTS IN SCOTLAND.—There are about one hundred Baptist churches in Scotland, 35 of which are called "Scottish Baptist Churches," because they have no paid pastors; the others are called "English Baptist Churches," because they harmonize with the English Baptists, in doctrine, government, and discipline. Until within five years the denomination was in a low state as to vital religion and active benevolence, but it is now in a more hopeful way.

PREBYTERIAN MISSION.—It is stated in the "Foreign Missionary" that there are, under the care of the Mission of Allahabad, Northern India, a Mission College, with 100 scholars; an Orphan Boys' school, with 37; and an Orphan Girls' school, with 60; seven Boys' boarding schools, with 300; and a female boarding school, with 60 scholars, making a total of 508 pupils.

LARGE DONATION.—M. Peyton, lately a pupil in the Polytechnic school, the young brother-in-law of M. Alfred de Montaigne, who not long since stabbed himself, became a few months ago a solicitor in a court of justice, and has given up to the order the whole of his fortune, amounting to about 2,000,000 francs.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—The city of Pesth, in Hungary, has just contracted a loan with the house of Messrs. Rothschild, of Vienna, to the amount of 1,000,000 florins, (£200,000) which sum is to be expended in erecting in the city of schools and other establishments of public instruction.

DEMOGRAPHICAL DECREASE.—